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7. — *Toussaint L'Ouverture: a Biography and Autobiography.* Boston: James Redpath. 1863. 12mo. pp. x., 366.

THE biography mentioned in this title was prepared by the Rev. John R. Beard, and first published in London. It is in many respects the best book upon Toussaint which has as yet appeared. Mr. Redpath, the editor and publisher of the American edition, has made some judicious alterations, such as suppressing Mr. Beard's speculations concerning Toussaint's Scriptural studies, omitting a whole book which was devoted to the subsequent history of Hayti from Toussaint to Soulouque, and erasing or modifying the statements respecting modern Hayti. The first was judicious, because nothing is really known about Toussaint's Scriptural or philosophical opinions. The numerous contemporary sketches of his life furnished opinions which the writers were certain that he ought to have entertained; they sprang up liberally out of the vague French reports concerning him. In this line of fabrication the Germans surpassed all others; for they not only gave a connected view of his whole career as a slave, but even a mythological childhood in Africa, well equipped with signs and wonders that prophesied his greatness.

Mr. Redpath's second change was well made, partly because Mr. Beard's chapter upon the subsequent history of Hayti is meagre, and partly because it slurs the merits and genius of the great mulatto governors of that island. This is indeed the fault with all the books that have been written about Hayti. We find the books of mulatto writers less partisan, more deliberately fair towards Toussaint and the negro race than those of French and English authors are towards Rigaud, for instance, who was opposed to slavery, and quite as devoted as Toussaint to the independence of Hayti. Why do English and American writers and speakers make so little of the decided mulatto characteristics which the revolutions in Hayti have brought upon the scene? If it be to render Toussaint more illustrious, that end will be accomplished only when the fire and organizing skill of his mulatto antagonists fairly appear. And if there be a use in showing how colored races can practise self-government, and earn their living, the picture is but half finished until Rigaud appears as a reorganizer of agriculture, Boyer and Petion as humane and sensible heads of a state, and the race to which they belong as capable, skilful, energetic, and full of the passion of liberty.

The first men in Hayti who demanded liberty as a human right, and equality with the white colonists as a political necessity, were mulattoes. They were always more sincerely devoted to the French Republic than

the blacks, who commenced their career of emancipation under the flag of Spain, and were blindly transferred by Toussaint to the service of France, after a restoration of the monarchy was seen to be impossible. They have filled the trades and professions, and are handy with the sword or the pen. Beaubrun Ardouin, who has written in eleven volumes the most important history of Hayti that we have, is a mulatto ; so is Saint-Amand, whose first volume of the Haytian Revolutions is a clear and useful book. Luistant Pradine, once Haytian Minister at London, Thomas Madion, author of a good history in three volumes, Joseph B. Inginac, secretary-general under Boyer and author of *Memoirs*, Emile Nau, who wrote a history, with an appendix upon the geography, the aboriginal language, and the flora of Hayti, Vastey, a lively pamphleteer, Boisrond Tonnerre, writer of *Memoirs*, Saint-Remy, were all mulattoes of various shades of color, but agreeing in love of freedom and an ambition to work out the difficult problem of the island. We find that many sensible men who have lived in Hayti are of opinion that an increase of the mulatto stock, by legitimate and permanent sanctions, would vastly improve it, inasmuch as the public interests fare well at the hands of these men of mixed blood, who are not, as we commonly suppose, faded copies of both black and white, but specimens of an original ability as yet but imperfectly displayed. On this point antislavery men appear to be far more squeamish than Providence itself.

Mr. Redpath has also done well to drop the statements in this volume respecting modern Hayti, as his own excellent guide-book is more full and reliable. Thus the editing has been well done. On page 75, Mr. Beard, in translating some lines of Lamartine, has made a mistake which the editor overlooks. "*Pauvre mangeur d'igname*" means "miserable yam-eater," *igname* being an Indian word corrupted into yam.

But it was not possible for Mr. Redpath to supply the radical defect of this biography, which is the same that we find in all the books that have been written about the great negro chief. The unfairness to the mulatto is but one of the results of a defective method of treatment. Nothing that Toussaint did can be properly understood until it is shown that everything he did was transitional. He was as much the victim as the victor of a situation. All his faults and virtues were called out by events of extraordinary complexity, which would be a permanent stimulus to the faculty of the historian if it had been furnished with a wider scene. As it is, a careful analysis would not be wasted upon them. The writer of Toussaint's life should fix in groups the distinct elements by which he was surrounded, should firmly grasp the motive

of each group, and should then guide Toussaint through them all with his own motive, which was developed slowly, was frequently disturbed, and was never supreme ruler of events.

There is, first, a group of colonists of the middle class, excited by the revolution of the mother country to hope for an improvement of their social and political condition. Next is a group of rich proprietors, devoted to the monarchy, but anxious for a colonial system to enhance their local superiority. A dusky mulatto crowd stands next, each negro drop charged with French vivacity, as it claims recognition from the race that called it into being. These three groups of men held in slavery a fourth, that revolved as yet nothing but the daily care to escape punishment and to increase its rations. The first group and the third were sometimes in sympathy; the second sympathized with the other two only at critical moments that involved personal safety; the mulatto and the black came slowly into union. We do not think that Mr. Beard can prove the statement which he makes on page 48, that the mulattoes instigated the first revolt of the slaves from disappointment at their own failure.

As if four selfish interests were not enough to create a complicated situation, each rapid change in the politics of France was represented by agents and commissioners sent to the island, sometimes to unite irreconcilable passions, sometimes to play them off against each other; and these colonial intrigues were still further confused by the presence of the representatives of the Spanish monarchy in the eastern part of the island, and the temporary occupation of the western coast by the English. The former intrigued for the Bourbons, the latter were distracted between their desire to preserve Jamaica from revolt and to injure France as much as possible. Spain wished to see the old colonial system maintained; England wished to damage the colony as far as it could without diminishing its own sugar-crop, with this object endeavoring at one time to destroy Toussaint, and at another to tempt him to throw off his allegiance to France. When the complexity was at its highest, the mulattoes revolted in the name of the French Republic, and Rigaud set up his standard in the South. And when at last a regular policy seemed for the first time possible to Toussaint, in consequence of the cession of the Spanish part of the island to France, the subjugation of the mulattoes, the departure of the English, and the prostration of the old colonial interest, the Peace of Amiens stimulated Napoleon to rivet the colony more firmly to France, in order that the ancient proprietors might gradually bring in slavery again.

At this point a vacillation appears in the policy of Toussaint, which one writer attributes to ambition, another to secret understanding

with the English, another to the undue influence of whites, another to jealousy of Napoleon, and pique because the First Consul had never replied to his letters. In fact, Toussaint wavered because the single motive of his life, which had matured slowly amid the incessant intrigue of the scene, became for the first time really divided against himself: he longed to secure the independence of the black race, but he now saw that the colony would need a system of its own. But the colony belonged to France, and he held power in her name. Still he had labored and bled for emancipation, and the new system of the island depended upon the continuance of his life and authority. Did France mean to restore slavery? Then he would resist. Was the intention merely to supplant him? At one moment he would acquiesce, to preserve peace and prosperity; at another moment he would resist, feeling that prosperity and his own person had become identified. Indignation and hopelessness transferred all the conflicts of the island to his own breast. The result was, that he did not sufficiently prepare to make a vigorous resistance, and he did make all the resistance which his irresolution had left possible. It was heroic, and led, through his own downfall, to the emancipation of his race.

The whole situation was transitional, like all the preceding ones which illustrate his life. Each one might be analyzed into the forces which, arriving at a given moment at the point where he stood, gave him an inevitable direction. He had great qualities, and they appear conspicuously as he groped with his emancipating humor through the turmoil. But neither circumstances nor agencies were so plainly on his side that he could indulge a simple policy. He appeared to coquette with the Spaniards, the English, the French commissioners, the mulattoes. He accepted presents from the English, and secretly revolved the idea of letting himself be proclaimed King of Hayti; but his attachment to France restrained him. He kept the presents, because the English must continue to expect that he would declare for them; but the ambition that is mixed up with cunning in all these actions was dominated by the ever-growing thought that his race must be made free and prosperous. That is the explanation of the act by which he summoned white and mulatto deputies to frame a constitution for the island, and to make him Governor-General for life; and he had the Constitution proclaimed and himself hailed as governor before he sent the document to be ratified by Napoleon. It was plain to him that he must continue to rule, but not so plain how Napoleon could rule also. And it was plain to him that he alone could organize a colonial system; how, then, to manage so as to leave Napoleon out? A perfectly justifiable policy, springing from a true political idea, but badly furnished with expedients.

His Constitution also was transitional. The black laborers were attached again to the soil, and rudely held to it by means of a severe and unrelaxing system. They were fresh from war and rapine; the problem was to lead them patiently to till the fields they had just joyously devastated, and to rebuild the negro quarters through which the midnight torch had exultingly run. The black generals became large landed proprietors, and Toussaint acquiesced in the application of marshal's batons to the backs of his old soldiers. The seventeenth article of his Constitution was a bribe to English and American adventurers to help restock the half-populated island by fresh ventures from the coast of Africa; but Toussaint said to himself, A black rules, — here they will be free. He stooped to necessity, at the same time that he hoped to lift to freedom.

His cunning was exceptional; but it was fortunate that the quality which the exigencies demanded stood ready born in him; they deepened but did not originate it. Nothing but African dissimulation could have piloted a race so far through furious and subtle passions on its way to freedom. His tendencies were all towards sincerity, away from the lurking attitudes of slavery up to the honest posture of a man; but his methods misinterpreted while they preserved his motives. He had well learned, in that imbroglia of races which tossed him to the surface, the lesson which another, who was also a slave, had learned in the Rome of the Cæsars. *Qui bene dissimulat*, says Publius Syrus, *citius inimico nocet*. Toussaint must hurt all the enemies which environed his race; he held the black hand in one of his own, and with the other he plotted, cajoled, and smote, still leading the imbruted mass upward towards history's day.

His cruelty also was exceptional. It belonged not to his native disposition, which in a less complicated period would have rejected it with shuddering. The report of it was unfortunately exaggerated by the actions of his officers, and many murders were perpetrated without his suggestion. Sometimes he was indignant. But there is no doubt that he alternated his displays of humanity towards mulattoes who fell into his power with terrible punishments, which he considered at the moment to be essential to the maintenance of his authority. In other words, the situation was determined that he should not be consistently humane. After the power of Rigaud was broken, military executions should have ceased; but it is alleged that many persons taken with arms were needlessly put to death.

An eyewitness of many events of this terrible epoch, not a mulatto, relates the following. Eight men of color were condemned to be blown from cannon, before the church of Gonaïves. The first one was an

officer. "Off with your epaulettes," cried Toussaint to him. "Off!" said the mulatto, "off! I have fought to gain them, I will fight and die to defend them. Approach if you dare!" Toussaint, admiring him, still commands him to place himself before one of the cannon. As he refused to be tied, Toussaint exclaims, "Say your prayers." "Yes," answered the officer, "I pray God to pardon me; but thou — thou — thou, Toussaint! Pray Heaven to pardon thee all the blood which thou hast unjustly spilt." "Fire!" cried Toussaint, and the body of the brave enemy disappeared in a fine shower of shreds and drops.

The second mulatto took sanctuary in the church, but he was dragged from the altar and pierced with bayonets upon the pavement. The *curé*, interrupted in his office, reproached Toussaint, who replied with an unfeeling sneer to the effect that the *curé* had too much consideration for the enemies of the island. The barbarian was strong within him.

But history, which records the success of Toussaint, will never be able to affirm that the success of Rigaud would have imperilled the independence of Hayti.

The second portion of Mr. Redpath's volume consists of the Autobiography of Toussaint. The alleged external proof of its genuineness consists, first, in its mention by the Abbé Grégoire in his book upon the Literature of Negroes. We are unable to find the notice in our copy, which is the first edition (1808) of that work; but the Abbé may have inserted it in a subsequent one. Second, the possession of a manuscript copy by General Desfourneaux, a French officer, who served at first with distinction under Toussaint, but afterwards against him. But no explanation is given of the way in which the General got his copy. Such an explanation is necessary, because the original manuscript, which purports to have been written while Toussaint was confined in the Castle of Joux, must have been instantly taken possession of by the government at his death; or if Toussaint transmitted it before his death to Napoleon, it must have been placed with the secret documents of the government, in consequence of its criticism upon the course of General Leclerc. And in fact its existence is represented to have been unknown for several years. Third, the discovery of the original manuscript in the General Archives of France by M. Saint-Remy, a mulatto, who has written a life of Toussaint. We do not doubt that Saint-Remy found in the Archives the manuscript which he incorporates into his work, but we are not clear how it got there. Our suspicion is increased by the statement of Saint-Remy that the manuscript is at first hand, without an erasure or an insertion. That looks as if it had been a

copy of a manuscript, or a reduction deliberately made from notes ; for whenever Toussaint wrote, which was seldom, as he preferred to dictate and verbally to correct the compositions of his secretaries, he did erase and insert. He had an acute and prompt intelligence ; listeners have recorded how aptly he criticised the despatches which were brought to him to sign, by suggesting new phrases and more compact sentences. But his fame does not require that we should suppose him above the resort to corrections of his pen.

If the third proof would be established, it must be by a comparison of the manuscript with other handwriting that is known to be his. We state the doubt, but refrain from the pretence to judge of a matter that is beyond our reach.

The internal proof evidence of genuineness, upon a reading of the translation which Mr. Redpath furnishes, stands in some respects upon a better footing ; in other respects, no better. It is better, because an intimate knowledge of events is shown, and of the personal movements of Toussaint from place to place upon the arrival of the French expedition under General Leclerc. Again, it is no better, because it gives a letter and an extract from a letter, verbatim, which he had received at Ennery before his arrest. Now he was arrested suddenly, his person searched, his papers seized. He had a great memory, and always recollected names and faces ; but these letters could not have been important in his estimation until after the arrest which they were written to effect. Then their purport must have been the occasion of bitter reflection. We cannot think that Toussaint would have charged his memory with the words and phrases : in saying so, we may underrate its fidelity and minuteness, and render testimony in favor of the assumption that the manuscript was drawn up by him.

But, secondly, the evidence is no better in respect that the manuscript is not always frank in expressing the motives which influenced some of his acts ; for instance, his refusal to receive General Leclerc, which led to resistance. "I shall tell the truth," he says, "though it be against myself." But in several places the manuscript does not tell the truth : and, on the whole, such a case is presented as would be drawn up by an adherent. We do not find it natural that Toussaint should suppress and color the facts : this ordinary test of the genuineness of a prisoner's appeal fails when Toussaint is the prisoner, partly because too many people knew the real facts, and he was shrewd enough to perceive that publicity would be given to them and to his motives upon trial ; partly because any man will be sincere when dissimulation will avail him nothing ; partly because, in the main, Toussaint's nature was sincere, for cunning was the expedient of safety for himself and for his race.

But there are certainly some seemingly genuine strokes in this manuscript. They occur where he vindicates his system of labor and the Constitution which he presented to the island. There is no special pleading here for the system, though there is suppression of the fact that he proclaimed the Constitution before submitting it to the government.

Mr. Redpath has further enriched his volume by an Appendix of notes and testimonies, among which is the excellent paper written by Mr. John Bigelow, formerly of the New York Evening Post, describing his visit to the Chateau de Joux, and Whittier's poem upon Toussaint. Will not Mr. Redpath undertake the Life of Toussaint l'Ouverture? In the mean time, his reprint of Dr. Beard's Life is welcomed by us, because it contains a compact narrative of the events which brought the great character of Toussaint before the world.

8.—*Miscellaneous Writings: Addresses, Lectures, and Reviews.* By JOSEPH G. HOYT, LL. D. Boston: Crosby and Nichols. 1863. 12mo. pp. 302.

THE liberal and unmeaning use of superlatives is, we are well aware, among the besetting sins of American reviewers, who might seem the mere actuaries of a Mutual-Admiration Society comprehending all our authors and literary men. But none who knew Dr. Hoyt in what was the great work and joy of his life will withhold from his memory high terms of eulogy. As an educator many of his grateful pupils are ready to say that he had no equal; while those who closely watched his labors without partaking of their fruit would have found it difficult to designate his superior. After having been for nearly twenty years Professor of Mathematics in the Phillips Exeter Academy, he was elected Chancellor of Washington University in the city of St. Louis, in accordance with the reluctant, but unqualified, recommendation of the Trustees of the Academy, who would have resorted to almost any expedient except falsehood to prevent his removal. In his new sphere of duty, he organized the collegiate department of the University, and survived by a few months the graduation of the class which he had admitted as Freshmen. Brief as was his term of service, interrupted too by attacks of severe illness previous to the lingering disease which terminated his life, he accomplished what might have seemed the work of many years, in the establishment of a carefully considered, well-proportioned, and thorough course of collegiate study, in an organization of preparatory and affiliated schools which can need no essential change when the conception of a great Western University shall be realized,